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AN
APPENDIX

TO THE

THREE VOLUMES

Of Mr. Archdeacon *ECHARD*'s

History of *ENGLAND*.

Consisting of several

EXPLANATIONS *and* AMENDMENTS,

AS WELL AS

New and Curious ADDITIONS *to that* HISTORY.

TOGETHER

With some *Apologies* and *Vindications*.

By the same AUTHOR.

LONDON:

Printed for JACOB TONSON, at *Shakespear's-Head*, over-
against *Katharine-Street* in the Strand. MDCCXX.

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OF MR. ARCHDEACON E. CHAMBERS

HISTORY OF E. M. G. L. A. N. D.

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History of ENGLAND.

THE PREFACE.



THE Publisher being call'd upon for a new Edition of all the Three Volumes of my History of England, I thought it necessary to make a short Revision of the whole, and to make several Amendments besides material Additions, to be intermix'd with the several Parts of that Edition. And this is done not so much with Design to answer the Accusations of any, as to do Justice to the Publick, and particularly to some who may have real Reason to complain. I have heard from many, who I believe had but little Reason; but if some of them had been as forwards in their Assistance as they have been in their Complaints, these Additions had still been more useful and Complete.

But as insignificant as they are, it was thought necessary to do another Piece of Justice, by printing them by themselves, as well as intermixing them with the new Edition; that they that have bought the first Impression may not be tempted into the unnecessary Expence of the Last. There are indeed in that Edition, in several Places, some small Alterations in the Stile and Expression, as now and then a Word chang'd, a Word added, and sometimes an Expression turn'd or soften'd, which cou'd not be put into this Appendix, without making of it tedious and impertinent; and therefore are not detrimental to the former Edition.

VOLUME I.

I Had not Time to do much to this Volume, and I was the less concern'd about it, because I found but very few Objections against it, and that it had stood the Test for above Ten Years before the two other appear'd. I cou'd not stay to examine it with Mr. Rymer's great Collection: Therefore the main Thing was to take notice of that important Affair, the Reformation, begun in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, in the Account of which by Dr. Burnet, whom I chiefly follow'd, there are some few Things have since appear'd to be erroneous: Particularly in the 664th Page of this Volume, It is said that King Henry and Queen Catharine, upon the Summons of the two Legates, both appear'd, and that the Queen made the Speech there mention'd; whereas B. Burnet in his Third Volume, after written, P. 45, 46, proves from the Original Register of their Proceedings that in this Affair most Historians have been mistaken; and that the Account given both of the Pope's Bull, and the greatest part of the Process, is erroneous: That those made Speeches for the King and Queen, are Spurious, &c. There are some few other Matters, relating to the Reformation, that are rectify'd, but not needful to be particulariz'd here. But to those who are desirous to understand that great Affair at large, and to be fully acquainted with the Ecclesiastical Matters, in the Reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Mary and Elizabeth, besides B. Burnet's last Volume, I wou'd recommend to them the Works of the laborious and honest Mr. Strype, who in his Lives of the several Archbishops, and Others, has done eminent Service to the establish'd Religion, and the publick Constitution.

As to the Reign of King James the First, that concludes this Volume, I cannot recommend it as the most perfect in its Kind: The Want of the best Materials was one Cause of it. It is possible that I may some time or other make amends in a distinct Piece. All that I cou'd do at present was to alter some Words, and soften some few Expressions, occasion'd by the too near following of Wilton and Welden; Persons who have writ with so much Rancour and Virulence, as to render their Credit very suspicious in many Places. One Thing is to be remember'd, that tho' King James, out of his great Fondness for the French Match, made such Shews towards Popery, yet upon his Death-Bed he carefully advis'd the Prince his Son, to love his Wife, but not her Religion, as may be seen in the first Volume of Rushworth's Collections, Page 115. And the same Author, in his Second Volume, Page 472, has said something as to his Wisdom and Knowledge, as is sufficient to convince or surprize all such as have been so ready to call either of them in Question.

VOLUME II.

IN this Volume, which is the most labour'd, and in some Respects, the most Material of the Three, I did not find it necessary to make any Alterations, but in a few Expressions, nor any Additions till we came to the unhappy Civil Wars: And first in

Page 395, and L. 42, add this Paragraph.] Then further to clear himself from the Aspersions of Incouraging Papists, in a particular Declaration sent into Scotland, about a Month after, he us'd these Words, ^{A further Answer.} which ought not to be forgotten; 'Great Numbers of that Religion 'have been with great Alacrity entertain'd in that Rebellious Army against Us; and others have been seduc'd, to whom We had formerly 'deny'd Employments, as appears by the Examination of many Prisoners, 'of whom we have taken Twenty and Thirty at a Time of one Troop 'or Company of that Religion.

Page 415, dele the last Period of the first Paragraph, and add these Words.] As his Death was a great Surprize, so the Manner of it was very Uncommon, and generally Unknown, as I am assur'd by a great Man, who says his Death's-Wound proceeded from the Breaking of one of his Pistols, which happen'd to be more than doubly charg'd. This was one of a choice Case presented to him by his Son-in-law Sir Robert Pye, to carry on the War; and at the first sight of him, he cry'd out to him, *Ab, Robin, your unhappy Present has been my Ruin!*

In the next two Pages, giving an Account of the Assembly of Divines, considering the general Abilities of those that compos'd it, something in it may be thought too severe, or too crude in the Lord Clarendon, and Whitlock; therefore some little Alteration is made in P. 416. L. 30, and in P. 417. L. 14. and a Note in the Margin expung'd.

Page 551, at the End of Line 44, add this new Paragraph.] In the midst of these uncommon Difficulties, the pious King, ^{He makes a remarkable Vow.} as it were, reflecting upon his Concessions relating to the Churches of Scotland and England, and being extremely tender in Case of Sacrilegious Incroachments, wrote and sign'd this extraordinary Vow, which was never yet publish'd; 'I do 'here promise and solemnly Vow, in the Presence and for the Service of 'Almighty God, That if it shall please the Divine Majesty, of his Infinite Goodness, to restore me to my Just Kingly Rights, and to re-establish me in my Throne, I will wholly give back to his Church all those 'Impropriations, which are now held by the Crown; and what Lands 'soever, I do now, or shou'd enjoy, which have been taken away, either 'from any Episcopal See, or any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, from 'any Abby, or other Religious House. I likewise promise for hereafter 'to hold them from the Church, under such reasonable Fines and Rents 'as shall be set down by some conscientious Persons, whom I propose to 'chuse with all Uprightness of Heart, to direct me in this Particular. And 'I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my Vow, and to bless

B

' me

‘ me in the *Design* I have now in hand, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord.
 ‘ *Amen.*

Charles R.

Oxford, 13 Ap. 1646.

This is a true Copy of the King's Vow, which was preserv'd Thir-
teen Years under Ground, by Me

1660 Aug. 21st.

Gill. Sheldon.

After great Consideration, and much Perplexity, the poor King chose,
 &c.

Page 558, at the End of L. 9, add these Words.] I have been inform'd
 that this Character has been adjudg'd Spurious; but I cannot find Autho-
 rity sufficient to support such an Assertion.

Page 627, at the End of L. 47, continue the Paragraph thus.] And
 more than that, he was so conscious of this unprecedented Action, that be-
 sides other Defence, he wore a thick high-crown'd Beaver Hat lin'd with
 plated Steel to ward off Blows he might justly expect: Which Hat has
 been since sent as a Rarity to the *Museum* at *Oxford*, with a *Latin* In-
 scription upon it, to preserve the History of such a Relique.

Page 630, after the Words Actors met, *in the first Line, insert as fol-*
lows.] First in the *Painted Chamber*; where upon the landing of the King
 from *White-Hall* to Sir *Robert Cotton's* House, *Cromwell* casting his
 Eye upon his Majesty with some Apprehension, immediately put this
 Question to the Commissioners: *The first Thing the King will demand of*
us will be? By what Authority we bring him before us; What shall we
say? By whose Authority? After a little Pause, *Harry Marten* briskly
 reply'd, *In the Name and Authority of the Commons in Parliament As-*
sembled, and all the good People of England: So true an Enemy he was to
 Kingly Government, as he afterwards declared in a particular Manner.
 After this they remov'd into *Westminster-Hall*.

Severer Me-
 thods against
 them.

Page 664, at the End of the first Paragraph, add a new One, as fol-
lows.] When Persuasions had not their full Effect, severer Methods were
 us'd against the *Presbyterians*, who were now much at their Mercy;
 and their Champion *Milton*, having basely vilify'd the late King's Wri-
 tings and Actions, boldly drew his Pen against them, and charg'd them
 with ‘ Jugling and paltering with the World, bandying and bearing Arms
 ‘ against their King, divesting him, disanointing him, nay, cursing him
 ‘ all over in their Pulpits, Pamphlets, &c. and then not only turning
 ‘ Revoltors from those Principles, which only cou'd at first move them,
 ‘ but laying a Stain of Disloyalty on those Proceedings, which were the
 ‘ necessary Consequences of their own former Actions. He rallies them for
 ‘ Citing the King so often under the Name of *Tyrant* in the hearing of
 ‘ God, of Angels, and the holy Church assembled, and their charging
 ‘ him with spilling more Innocent Blood by far, than ever *Nero* did:
 And demands of them, ‘ Whether their now recanting Ministers had not
 ‘ preach'd against him as a *Reprobate* incurable, an Enemy to God and
 ‘ his Church mark'd for Destruction, and therefore not to be treated
 ‘ with? He ridicules their fine Clause in the *Covenant* to preserve his
 ‘ Person, Crown and Dignity, as set there by some dodging Casuist with
 ‘ more Craft than Sincerity, to mitigate the Matter in case of ill Success.
 He calls their Preachers, ‘ Ministers of Sedition, not of the Gospel, who while
 ‘ they saw it manifestly tend to Civil War and Bloodshed, never ceas'd
 ‘ exasperating the People against him; and now they see it likely to breed
 ‘ new

‘ new Commotion, cease not to incite others against the People that have
 ‘ sav’d them from Him, as if *Sedition* were their only Aim whether a-
 ‘ gainst Him or for Him. ’ In Sum, they were often treated with that
 Contempt and Indignity from the Ruling Party, that they had as much
 Reason, perhaps, to complain of *Persecution* before, as they had after the
 Restoration.

*As to the Story of Cromwell’s Infernal Commerce in Page 712,
 and 713, which has been complain’d of, as it is not worth the Vin-
 dicating, so I do not think it worth the Expunging. If it be con-
 sider’d how it is introduc’d, and how concluded, it may well enough
 stand as a Redundancy or Excess, that can take no great Room,
 or do any great Harm. They that are willing to have it stand,
 may fill up the Blank in P. 713, with the Word Grimstone. The
 rest may, if they please, relieve themselves with a credible Supposi-
 tion, that Cromwell, after he had excited Colonel Lindsey’s Fears,
 put upon him with a Real Man in the Wood; a Practice very a-
 greeable to his Character: And that the Colonel, whose Business
 was only Fighting, might easily be impos’d upon by one of the
 greatest Jugglers in the Age, who had the Luck to hit upon a Seven
 Years Lease.*

*Page 740, after the Period in the 5th Line, add these Words.] We are
 told from the noted Harry Nevil, that Cromwell, upon this great Occasion,
 sent for some of the City Divines, as if he made it a Matter of Conscience,
 to be determin’d by their Advice; among whom was the leading Mr.
 Calamy, who very bravely oppos’d his Project of Single Government, and
 offer’d to prove it both *Unlawful* and *Impracticable*. Cromwell readily
 answer’d upon the first Head of *Unlawful*, and appeal’d to the Safety
 of the Nation, as being the Supreme Law: But, said he, pray Mr. Ca-
 lamy why *Impracticable*? The other as readily reply’d, Oh, ’tis against
 the Voice of the Nation; there will be Nine in Ten against you! Very
 right, says the intended Usurper, but what if I shou’d disarm the Nine,
 and put the Sword into the Tenth Man’s Hand, wou’d not that do the Bu-
 siness? By which Answer he seem’d both to thank, as well as to ridicule
 his Adviser.*

However, &c.

*Page 764, after the Period in L. 10, add these Words.] I have been
 assured by the same Person, since Sir Stephen Fox, who shew’d me a par-
 ticular Paper all under the King’s own Hand, that this happy Regulation
 and Management was wholly owing to the King Himself, tho’ the Lord
 Clarendon had too favourably attributed it to him: and he further declar’d
 these Words, That his Majesty was the best Oeconomist he ever met with
 in his whole Life.*

*Page 793, in the midst of the 2d Paragraph, after the Word Channel,
 add.] And indeed when the News of this came to the King abroad, he
 was very much startled at it, as well as those about him: Insomuch that
 several Persons were sent over into England with Orders to use all possi-
 ble Endeavours to prevent this Design: being agreed, ‘ That, in such a
 ‘ Case, the Laws wou’d have been on Cromwell’s Side, as King in Pos-
 session;*

‘*session*; tho’ the Right had still remain’d in King *Charles* as the *Legal* ‘*Successor* to his Father.’ This being particularly told to the King, he was greatly surpriz’d and concern’d at it; and occasion’d him to send over so many to oppose it; among whom the Person who gave the Narrative was one.

But notwithstanding, &c.

Page 811, after the first Paragraph, add this following one.] This remarkable Story, which was told me with great Formality and Exactness by Sir *John Talbot* and others, is wholly inconsistent with a Letter I think my self oblig’d to subjoyn, unless we can suppose that the Name *Morland* or *Willis* signify’d some other Person. The Letter is from Mr. *Morland* to Sir *Richard Willis*, and in these Words: ‘Sir, whereas I ‘have heard how much you have suffer’d by a Libel bearing date the 3d ‘of *June* 1659, charging you with a private Correspondence with Mr. ‘Secretary *Thurloe* and his Creatures; and that I particularly was since ‘in *Flanders* in Person to inform the King of the Particulars by shewing ‘him Letters of yours, and Receipts for Money; I think my self oblig’d ‘(tho’ a Stranger to you) to be so far assisting to your Vindication, as ‘to declare and profess, That I was never in any Part of *Flanders* in all ‘my Life, nor with the King beyond Sea upon that, or any other Account; nor did ever shew him (as is aforesaid) any such Letters or Bills ‘of Receipts for any Moneys whatsoever. And so far was I from being ‘in any Capacity of Informing against you as aforesaid, that I do profess, ‘I knew not so much as your Name, neither was I ever present at any ‘private Conference between you and Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*; which ‘upon all Occasions shall be constantly testify’d by, Sir,

Thursday the 1st of
March 1659.

Your most humble Servant

S. Morland.

If this Letter acquits Sir Richard in this Case, it will not clear him from what is said in Page 805, 806, and 807, of this History. How far it consists with what the Lord Clarendon says in his last Folio Volume, Page 523, 524, and 525, I leave to the judicious and impartial Reader.

Page 825, Line 12, at the End of the Period add these Words.] Nor did he seem to be totally without Religious Apprehensions, and one great Enquiry he had to make was, as we are told from Dr. *Goodwin*, *Whether a Man cou’d fall from Grace?* A Question very common in those Times. And when the Doctor answer’d in the Negative, according to the prevailing Notion, he reply’d, *Then I am safe; for I am sure I was ONCE in a State of Grace.*

Page 827, at the End of the first Paragraph, add these Words.] And the Navy of *England* in a sinking deplorable Condition.

Page 864, at the End of the second Paragraph, add this new one.] What chiefly forwarded this Dissolution is by Mr. *Locke* attributed to the Management and Dexterity of Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, who immediately procured from the Rump-Parliament a Commission to Himself, and two or three more of the most weighty and popular Members of the House, to have the Power of General of all the Forces in *England*, which they were to execute joynly. This was no sooner done, but he
got

got them together, where he had provided abundance of Clerks who were instantly order'd to transcribe a great many Copies of the *Form* of a Letter, wherein they recited, ' That it had pleas'd God to restore the *Parliament* to the Exercise of their Power, and that the Parliament had given ' to them a Commission to command the Army; they therefore command- ' ed Him, ' (*viz.* the Officer to whom the Letter was directed) ' imme- ' diately with his Troop, Company or Regiment, ' as it happen'd ' to march ' to — ' These Letters were directed *To the chief Officer* of any Part of the Army who had their Quarters together in any Part of *England*. They were likewise dispatch'd away by particular Messengers that very Night; and coming to the several Officers so peremptorily to march immediately, they had not Time to assemble and debate among themselves what to do: And having no other Intelligence but ' That the *Parliament* was restor- ' ed, and that *London* and *Portsmouth*, and other Parts of *England* had ' declared for Them; ' the Officers durst not disobey. But all of them, according to their several Orders, some one Way, and some another. So that the Army, which was the great Strength of the Gentlemen of *Wallingford-House*, were by this Means quite dispers'd, and render'd perfectly useless to the *Committee of Safety*, who were hereby totally reduc'd under the Power of the Parliament as so many disarm'd Men to be dispos'd of as they thought fit. A remarkable Stratagem, and answerable to Sir *Anthony's* penetrating Head.

VOLUME III.

THIS Volume, coming nearer to our own Times, has accordingly met with a greater Number of Exceptions than the two Former: But notwithstanding these Exceptions, and still a greater Number of Complaints, which I endeavour'd to learn as well as rectify, I cou'd find but a few Passages that really wanted to be corrected. The Complaints were for the most part General, and often without any Reasons given; and when any were given, they to me seem'd supported with so mean and imperfect Authority, that I cou'd make but very little Use of them. They have indeed given me Occasion to make a few further Enquiries, which in the main have afforded me new Satisfaction, and have serv'd more to confirm than to invalidate the Substance of my former Accounts.

What therefore I have done as to this Volume, has been more by Way of Supplement and Explanation, than Correction and Amendment. I have indeed besides corrected some small Matters, as to Names and Words, and sometimes a little alter'd and mollify'd some Expressions, that may have been thought too harsh and designing, which cou'd not easily be brought into this Appendix. Yet the Reader may be pleas'd to take notice, that in the new Edition, and within the Compass of the first Book of this Volume, that I have done something to the 3d Page of the Preface; something

C

Expla-

Explanatory to the 5th and 6th Pages of the Book; Mollifying in the 7th; Additional, as to the Royal Society, in the 40th; Explanatory in the 48th and 119th; Softning and Explanatory in the 150th; Corrected, in the Account of Bishop Wren, in the 207th; and something Particular and Explanatory, relating to the Dissenters, in the 237th and 238th. The first Addition of Moment I had from a great Man, besides what had been borrow'd from Bishop Burnet, and is to be inserted in

Page 80, Line 24th, after Sir John Vaughan, add] who offer'd many Instances of the Law-Books to shew, That it was lawful in many Cases to take up Arms against those who were Commission'd by the King; and therefore he offer'd this Amendment, ' That, &c.

*The Earl of
Strafford's At-
tainer revers'd.*

Page 81st, at the End of the Second, add this new Paragraph.] Besides these Publick Acts, there was a Particular One for the Reversing the Earl of Strafford's Attainder; of which the Preamble has been printed in Foreign Countries, and deserves to be remember'd here as follows: Whereas Thomas late Earl of Strafford was Impeach'd of High-Treason, upon Pretence of endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws, and call'd to a publick and solemn Arraignment and Tryal before the Peers in Parliament, where he made a particular Defence to every Article objected against him; (2) insomuch that the Turbulent Party then seeing no Hopes to effect their unjust Designs by any ordinary Way and Method of Proceeding, did at last attempt the Destruction and Attainder of the said Earl by an Act of Parliament, to be therefore purposely made to condemn him upon Accumulative Treason, none of the pretended Crimes being Treason apart, and so cou'd not be in the Whole if they had been prov'd, as they were not, (3) and also judg'd him guilty of Constructive Treason, that is, of Levying War against the King, though it was only the Commanding an Order of the Council-Board in Ireland to be executed by a Serjeant at Arms, and three or four Soldiers, which was the constant Practice of the Deputies there for a long Time; (4) To which End they having first presented a Bill for this Intent to the House of Commons, and finding there more Opposition than they expected, they caus'd a Multitude of tumultuous Persons to come down to Westminster, arm'd with Swords and Staves, and to fill both the Palace-Yards, and all the Approaches to both Houses of Parliament with Fury and Clamour, and to require Justice, speedy Justice against the Earl of Strafford; (5) And having by these and other undue Practices obtain'd that Bill to pass in the House of Commons, they caus'd the Names of those resolute Gentlemen, who in Cause of Innocent Blood had freely discharg'd their Consciences, being Nine and Fifty, to be posted up in several Places about the Cities of London and Westminster, and still'd them STRAFFORDIANS and Enemies to their Country, hoping thereby to deliver them up to the Fury of the People, whom they had endeavour'd to incense against them, (6) and then procured the said Bill to be sent up to the House of Peers, where it having some time rested under the great Deliberation, at last, in a Time when a great Part of the Peers were absent by reason of the Tumults, and many of those who were present protested against it, the said Bill pass'd in the House of Peers: (7) And at length his late Majesty King Charles the First of Glorious Memory, granted a
Com-

‘ Commission for giving his Royal Assent thereunto; which nevertheless
 ‘ was done by his said Majesty with exceeding great Sorrow then, and
 ‘ ever remember’d by him with unexpressible Grief of Heart, and out
 ‘ of his Majesty’s great Piety he did publickly express it when his own Sa-
 ‘ cred Life was taken away by the most detestable Traytors that ever
 ‘ were. For all which Causes, &c.

Page 255, Line 46, after the Word Account, add] As a further Ac-
 count of his Reception, the two following Letters from his Grace to the
 Earl of *Arlington* are worthy of Notice: The First dated *Aug. 15th*
 says, ‘ If I had had the good Fortune to bring my Lord *Faulconbridge*’s
 ‘ Secretary with me, he wou’d have entertain’d your Lordship with a
 ‘ whole Sheet of Paper full of the Particulars of my Reception here;
 ‘ for, *I have had more Honours done me, than ever were given to any*
 ‘ *Subject.* You will receive in two or three Days a Proposition from this
 ‘ Court concerning the making War upon *Holland Only*, which you
 ‘ may enlarge as you please. *Monsieur de Lionne* shew’d me the *Model*
 ‘ of it last Night, and I shall see the Particulars before they are sent. In
 ‘ the mean Time, having not your Cipher, I shall only tell you in gene-
 ‘ ral, That nothing but our being *Mealy-mouth’d* can hinder us from find-
 ‘ ing our *Accounts* in this Matter. For *you may almost ask what you please.*
 ‘ I have written more at large in Cipher to my Lord *Ashley*; and when
 ‘ you have discours’d together, if you think my Stay here will be of use
 ‘ to his Majesty, let me know it, if not, I will come away. *I am Yours,*
 ‘ *&c.*’ The Second Letter, dated two Days after, says, ‘ I have nothing
 ‘ to add to what I writ last, but that I am every Day convinc’d of the
 ‘ *Happy Conjunction* we have at present in our Hands of *any Conditions*
 ‘ from this Court, that we can in *Reason* demand. The King of *France*
 ‘ is so mightily *taken* with the Discourses I make to him of his *Greatness*
 ‘ by Land, that he talks to me *Twenty Times a Day*: All the Courtiers
 ‘ here wonder at it, and I am very glad of it, and am *very much Yours,*
 ‘ &c.

Page 435, Line 35, after the Word Court, add as following.] And
 here in this Place it will not be amiss to recite a Manuscript Account
 taken from Archbishop *Tillotson*, which says, That the Match being made
 upon Political Views, against the Will of the Duke, and not with the
 hearty Liking of the King, the *Country-Party*, as they were then call’d,
 were exceedingly pleas’d and elevated: And, after the Lord Mayor’s
 Feast, a secret Design was laid to invite the new marry’d Couple into
 the City to a publick and solemn Entertainment to be made for them.
 To prevent this, the *Court* hurry’d both the Bridegroom and Bride, as
 fast as they cou’d, out of *Town*: Infomuch that they departed with such
 Precipitation, that they had scarce Time to make any Provision for their
 Journey. Their Servants and Baggage went by Way of *Harwich*; but
 the Prince and Princess by *Canterbury Road*; where they were to lye
 till the Wind was fair, and the Yacht ready to Sail with them.

Being arriv’d at *Canterbury*, they repaired to an Inn; and no good
 Care being taken in their Haste to separate what was needful for their
 Journey, they came very meanly provided thither. *Monsieur Bentinck*,
 who attended them, endeavour’d to borrow some Plate and Money of
 the Corporation for their Accommodation; but upon grave Deliberation,
 the Mayor and Body prov’d to be really afraid to lend them either. Dr.
Tillotson then Dean of *Canterbury*, and at that Time in Residence, hear-
 ing of this, immediately got together his own Plate, and other that he
 borrow’d, together with a good Number of Guineas, and all other Ne-
 cessaries

The Prince
 and Princess’s
 Acquaintance
 with Dr. Til-
 lottson.

cessaries for them; and went directly to the Inn to *Monsieur Bentinck*, and offer'd him all that he had got; and withal complain'd that they did not come to the Deanery, where the Royal Family were wont to lodge; and heartily invited them thither, *where they might be sure of a better Accommodation*. This last they declin'd; but the Money, Plate, and the rest, were highly acceptable to them. Upon this the Dean was carry'd to wait upon the Prince and Princess; and his great Interest soon brought others to attend upon them. By this lucky Accident he began that Acquaintance and Correspondence with the Prince and *Monsieur Bentinck*, which yearly increas'd to the very Revolution: When both *Monsieur Bentinck* had great Occasion for Him and his Friends, on his own Account, as well as the Prince Himself, when arriv'd at the Crown. And this was the true, secret Ground, on which the Bishop of *London* (whose Quality and Services seem'd to entitle him without a Rival to the Archbishoprick) was yet set aside, and *Dr. Tillotson* advanc'd over his Head.

But to return to the Publick; upon the Lord &c.

II. *My Account of the Popish Plot, with its Concomitants and Productions, having been often blam'd, and not a little misrepresented, I have taken some small Pains about it by Way of Re-examination. And after a new Consultation with several living and dead Evidences, I must declare that I cou'd not find it necessary to alter any Thing Material, only now and then a Word, or a single Expression; so that I had but little to do besides making a few Additions by Way of Supplement.*

It cannot be doubted but that the Popish Party gave too much Occasion for the Usage they met withal, and too often allarm'd the loyal long Parliament by their Behaviour, and justly brought upon them that Disabling Act which seems to crown, as well as finish all the Actions of that famous Assembly. Therefore I freely come in to the common Belief of a general Design of the Papists to subvert the Establish'd Religion, &c. which, being of long standing, and meeting with new Incouragements, had some special Indications in this Reign. But this has no sort of Relation to the Crimes charg'd upon any of the Sufferers besides Coleman; concerning whom it may not be improper to remind the Reader of those nicking Words in the Lord Chancellor Finch's first Speech upon that Occasion, which declares, That 'Tho' the King doth 'in no sort Prejudge the Persons Accused, yet the strict Enquiry 'into this Matter hath been a Means to discover so many other 'unwarrantable Practices of theirs, that his Majesty hath Reason 'to look to them.' At the same Time we shou'd not forget the following Words in his Lordship's next Speech to the new Parliament, namely, 'So universal is that Despair to which the Papists are 'now reduc'd, that they have no other Hope left but this, That 'we may chance to overdo our own Business; and, by being too 'far

' *far transported with the Fears of Popery, neglect the Opportunities we have of making sober and lasting Provisions against it.* If this last had been timely regarded and observ'd, in all Probability many Perjuries and Sanguinary Proceedings might have been prevented on one side, and as many Shifts, Artifices and Quack Remedies neglected, or perhaps unthought of, on the Other.

In representing the Plot in its full Extent and Amplitude, as it was at several Times given in upon Oath, upon a Review I find a Defect which was too hastily slipt over in the first Edition: Therefore in

Page 460, at the End of the first Paragraph, add as follows.] & Moreover in Scotland, particular Care was taken to foment Discontents, and raise a Rebellion; to which End they at proper Times sent over several Jesuits, to mingle themselves as they cou'd with the Dissenters, so as they might preach in their *Field-Meetings*, and inflame them to take Arms to vindicate their *Religion* and *Liberties* against the suppos'd Invaders of both; and which they were to aggravate, as well as the Complaints against Episcopacy. And for their Encouragement, the *Papists* there were to raise Eight Thousand Men to joyn with such Dissenters, lest they shou'd be too weak to oppose the Government; by which they shou'd have the Advantage of a double Stroke, make a wide Difference between *Protestants*, and cast the old Odium of Rebellion upon the *Presbyterians*, if it shou'd not, or destroy the Government, if it shou'd succeed.

Page 473, L. 16, after the Word Presence, add this new Paragraph.] The King had so good an Opinion of the *Papists* Loyalty, and so great a Friendship for their Persons, that had he never receiv'd this Information, he cou'd not easily have believ'd the common Account of the Plot, much less the assassinating Part of it. Yet being alone with his Friend the Lord *Hallifax*, he cou'd not help expressing an Uneasiness at the Thought of the *Papists* endeavouring to take away his Life; therefore, by Way of upbraiding them with Ingratitude, or by Way of Arguing against the Improbability of such a Design, he said to his Lordship, *Have not I been kind enough to them?* His Lordship answer'd, *Yes, Sir, too kind indeed.* But granting that, said the King, *why then shou'd they desire to take away my Life?* O, Sir, reply'd the other with his usual Quickness, *They know you will only Trot, and they want a Prince that will Gallop.*—This I had from an unquestionable Hand; but to return, &c.

Page 491, at the End of the Second Paragraph, add] As to Ireland himself, we may here take notice, That the King was so particularly sensible of his Innocence, that he frequently express'd his great Concern for having consented to his Execution; and this, we are assur'd, continu'd with him to his dying Day, as the Business of the Earl of *Strafford* did with his Royal Father. But in this, and other Executions, he seem'd to have found out a more easy Way of Relieving his Conscience by charging all upon the *Regular Prosecutions*, and the *Legal Proceedings* against the Sufferers, and by occasionally saying, *Their Blood be upon other Mens Heads, and not mine!*

Page 512, in the Beginning of the Chapter, some small Alterations, but hardly worth inserting in this Appendix.

Page 516, L. 42, a small Addition of the same Nature.

Page 542, at the End of the Second Paragraph begin this new One.] This was the Result of the several Expedients which were brought to a Center, as we are told, by the deep Head of the Lord *Hallifax*; which being so derogatory to the Prerogative, yet coming from the King Himself, and a new and unexceptionable Council, in the Absence and beyond the Influence of the Duke of *York*, it may be thought a strange Infatuation that these popular Concessions shou'd meet with so cold a Reception. The Reasons have been more than hinted at in our Account taken from Sir *William Temple*, and may not be irrationally attributed to a Perverseness and Delusion, as well as Resentment and Provocation. But Heaven, which can take advantage of poor Mortals Mistakes, as well as their Crimes, seem'd to have design'd greater Things, without either Ruining the Monarchy, or the Privileges of the Nation: So that that perverse Man who rais'd those Difficulties then not to be surmounted, and so hard to be vindicated, might, in the Hand of Providence, be the Instrument or Occasion of the greatest Security and Establishment against all the Spiritual and Temporal Mischiefs of Popery.

Page 558, L. 26, after the Word Sheriff, add as follows.] Among other Things he hath these remarkable Words, 'I do believe, That it is 'no ways lawful for me to lye, or speak any Thing which I know to be 'untrue; or to commit any Sin, or do any Evil *that Good may come of it.* 'And that it is not in the Power of any *Priest*, or of the *Pope*, or of 'GOD Himself, to give me a *Licence* to lye, or to speak any Thing 'which I know to be untrue; because every such Lye wou'd be a Sin against *Truth*: And Almighty God, who is perfect TRUTH, cannot 'give me a *Licence* to commit a Sin against his own ESSENCE.' Which Words so affected an Eminent City Divine, since in the highest Station, that he said, *Either this Man must be Innocent, or the most superlative Villain that ever trod upon the Earth.* But all, &c.

Page 575, at the End of the first Paragraph, add] And here we may properly take Notice of a new Addition to the *Complete History of England* which says, That the Master of the *Charter-House*, a *Scotch Gentleman*, long in the Service of the King abroad, had the particular Care and Custody of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother, and bury'd her at *Paris*. He was often express in this Matter, and said positively, 'The King 'had never Intention to marry her; and that indeed she did not deserve 'any such good Intention towards her, *being a very ill Woman.*

Page 596, L. 52, after the &c. add as following.] And particularly Sir *William Jones* exerted his Skill and Eloquence in a long Speech, as much to prove the Reality of the Plot as the Guilt of the Prisoner; and thus especially argu'd, 'So that I think now none remain that do pretend 'not to believe it, but two sorts of Persons; the One, those that were 'Conspirators in it; and the Other, those that wish'd it had succeeded, 'and desire it may so still.' And by Way of Conclusion he said, 'The Evidence is so strong, that I think it admits of no Doubt; and the Offences 'prov'd against my Lord and the rest of his Party are so full, that they 'need no Aggravation. The Offences are against the King, against his

Sacred

‘ Sacred Life, against the *Protestant* Religion, nay against all *Protestants*. —
 ‘ It is a Design that appears with so dreadful a Countenance to your Lord-
 ‘ ships, to this great Assembly, and to the whole Nation, that it needs
 ‘ not any Words I can use to make you apprehend it.

Page 597, L. 1st, after the Word them, add this new Paragraph.] After this his Lordship had recourse to a Point of Law which many thought wou’d have reliev’d him, and this was the Necessity of two Witnesses in the Case of Treason: And whereas treasonable Words were sworn against him at two several Times and Places, viz. 75 and 78, *France* and *England*, and but by one Witness at each Time and Place, he conceiv’d he cou’d not by their Testimony be legally convicted of Treason. This Objection, tho’ reply’d to by the Managers, was thought of that Importance, that the Court judg’d it necessary to have the solemn Opinion of all the Judges present, which were Ten in Number. The Lord Chief Justice *North* began with his in these Words, ‘ I do here deliver my Opinion, and am clear in it, That if there be several Overt-Acts or Facts which are Evidences of the *same* Treason, if there be one Witness to prove one such Overt-Act at one Time, and another Witness to prove another Overt-Act at another Time, both the Acts being Evidences of the *same* Treason, these are two sufficient Witnesses of the Treason, and will maintain an Indictment or an Impeachment of Treason.’ The rest of the Judges declared themselves of the same Opinion; and one of them, Baron *Atkins*, by Way of Explanation, said, ‘ If a Man designs to kill the King, and buys Powder at one Place at one Time, and a Pistol at another Place at another Time, and promises a Reward to One to assist him to do the Thing at a third Place and a third Time; these are several Overt-Acts: But if the Law requires that each be prov’d by two Witnesses, I do not see how any Man can be convicted of Treason.’ This Opinion of the Judges was afterwards look’d upon as an Extraordinary Precedent, and was us’d with no little Severity against the contrary Party.

Page 599, at the End of the first Paragraph, add] And indeed their incessant Zeal, and their general Procedure for above a Hundred Years together, can neither be vindicated by the Laws of the Gospel, nor by those of the Land. Their Barbarities when in Power, and their Treacheries when out, were now remember’d with a remarkable Retaliation. And the *Gun-Powder Plot* was remember’d by the Prisoner himself, who at his Tryal acknowledg’d *That the Malice of the Jesuits, or the Wit of Man cou’d not offer an Excuse for it, it was so execrable a Thing.* It is no Wonder therefore, if some have been ready to believe their Punishments to be more the Judgments of Heaven than those of Men; and that that Party which had been guilty of so many villanous Actions, shou’d now suffer by the Means of villanous Evidences. — Evidences that cou’d cut two Ways at once, and who were ready, and, while they were believ’d, able to make Destruction among the most contrary Parties.

Page 608, L. 38, an inconsiderable Mistake rectify’d, relating to Doctor Duport.

Page 615, L. 22, 23, an Alteration as inconsiderable as the last.

Page 628, L. 25, Another Alteration of the same Moment.

Upon

Upon a Review of the Earl of Argyle's Case, and the Parliamentary Records of Scotland, (of which I may sometime be more particular) I find that my Account, chiefly taken from Dr. Sprat, was somewhat too crude and partial, and therefore in

His Condemnation and Flight.

Page 646, dele all from Line 18th, to the End of the Paragraph, and insert as follows.] This zealous and active Man, increasing in Power and Lustre, after his Father's and own Forfeitures, seem'd to have been mark'd out by his Royal Highness, tho' he had given some signal Instances of Loyalty, before as well as after both their Prosecutions. For during the sitting of the Parliament, he did not only endeavour to hinder the Passing of the Test (which was as much against *Popery* as *Fanaticism*) but when it was in Debate, he was the Person that spoke against *Excepting the King's Brothers and Sons* from taking that Oath then intended or declared for the Security of the *Protestant Religion*: For which he was afterwards told by a Bishop, *That that had downright fired the Kiln.* Accordingly when he was to take this Test, as One of the Privy-Council, and had declared, *That he wou'd not do it but with a Reserve of his own Explanation,* he was shortly after made Prisoner in the Castle, as guilty of *Defaming the King's Laws.* And tho' his Explanation was no more than what the Council it self thought fit to allow for the Satisfaction of the People; yet the Actions of his Father as well as his own seem'd to have made such an Impression upon the Duke of York, that he was resolv'd to humble his Greatness, and therefore caus'd his Interpretation to be scan'd and sifted to that Degree, that at length his Advocates found a *latent Piece of Treason* in it. Upon which he was brought to a formal Tryal with great Solemnity, and after many Strains of Eloquence and uncommon Aggravations, he was found guilty of Treason, and had Sentence of Death pass'd upon him, but with reserve of Execution. One Thing aggravated against him with Plausibility was his being condemn'd and pardon'd in the Year 1662. But that Condemnation was thought so hard, that the King then declared, *It was impossible to take a Man's Life upon so small an Account:* And the Lord Chancellor Clarendon blest God *That he liv'd not in a Country where there were such Laws.* This Prosecution was thought no less severe and unjust, insomuch that in the Great *Claim of Right* in 1689, it was by Act of Parliament annull'd, and order'd to be expung'd and raz'd out of the Records. The Court gave it out that there was no Design upon his Life, but only the Forfeiture of some eligible Jurisdictions and Superiorities, which seem'd to have been the first Motive towards the Prosecution: But the Earl, finding the Heat of the Pursuers, made his Escape, whereupon he had all the Marks of Dishonour denounc'd against him as were by National Custom due to Traytors. This gave Rise to new Disturbances; and the Earl, now desperate in his Fortunes, never left pursuing his Revenge, till he met with his own Destruction.

Page 666, L. 50, after the Period, add] of which, I have been well assured, he heartily repented not long before his Death.

Page 674, L. 31, after the Word other, add] so hard and so mean, that the whole was revers'd by an Act of Parliament made in the Second of K. William and Q. Mary, which declared them to be Illegal and Arbitrary: Of which I may be more particular, if I meet with Incouragement enough to enter upon a fourth Volume. Yet it is still to be remember'd, &c.

It

It is hard to find a proper Name for that which is most frequently call'd the Rye-House Plot, since it includes so many different Sorts of Persons, and distant Practices; and yet by a little straining was made to center in one Design. In general it has been both disown'd and vindicated, ridicul'd and palliated, suspected and applauded. However it was, upon a serious Review, I cou'd not find that my Account of it, tho' defective enough, did require any material Alterations. I found indeed that the Proceedings against the Sufferers were sometimes carry'd to, if not beyond, the Extremities of the Law, and that their Crimes were aggravated as well by means of the Eloquence as the Resentments of the Prosecutors; and always with Retaliation. I have therefore but little more to do, but to make such Additions as I had the good Fortune to procure from two or three great Men: And first with relation to the Earl of Essex, in

Page 690, L. 7, add this new Paragraph.] Since the Manner of the Earl's Death has been made a Question, I here subjoyn an Extract of two Letters sent me in the Months of September and October 1719, from a Person of full Credit and Worth, who had the truest Honour and Respect for that noble Lord, which says, ' I was then one of the Family of that very worthy but unhappy Earl of Essex, who dy'd in the Tower by his own Hands, &c. He was really an excellent Person, but hap-pen'd by Lies and false-Suggestions to be exasperated against the King by a very ill designing Man [the Earl of Shaftsbury]. There were two or three Pamphlets publish'd, especially one large One by Speke and Braddon to prove that he was murder'd in the Tower; but I do believe, and I think I am sure as I can be of a Thing I did not see, That the Earl, in a sudden Transport of Passion, was the Author of his own Death. As soon as his Lady the Countess heard there was a Report of his being murder'd (for none of the Pamphlets were then publish'd) about four Days after his Death She sent Me with Letters to the Earl of Clarendon who marry'd the Earl of Essex's Sister, to Sir Henry Capel, afterwards Lord Capel, the Earl's only Brother, and to Dr. Walter Needham, their Physician and Friend, and desir'd and impower'd us Four to take all Care we cou'd, and to spare no Charge, to inquire fully into that Matter. Accordingly we Four met at Essex House in St. James's Square, and sent for the Coroner, and several of the Jury; and I my self went to the Tower, to see the Room, and to consider how what they said corresponded; and I must truly say, that every one of Us was fully satisfy'd, That it cou'd be done by no Body but by Himself. And so I dare say was the Countess satisfy'd, and so was Dr. Burnet, tho' he was the Person who gave the Countess the first Notice of the Report of his being murder'd, which gave beginning to the Enquiry.-- We all Four lov'd and honour'd him so intirely, that if we had found any just Ground of thinking otherwise, we shou'd not have conceal'd it. — I cou'd say abundance more, if I had Time; and if you shou'd be at London in November, I shou'd be glad to see you. — Be sure not to misdate the Time of his Death, as some have done: The Earl was by an Order of Council seiz'd at Cashiobury on Monday Afternoon

E

' July

*A further
Account of his
Death.*

‘ July 9th. He was brought to *White-Hall* that Night, and lodg’d in the
 ‘ Lord *Feversham*’s Lodgings. On *Tuesday*, July 10th, he was sent to
 ‘ the *Tower*. On *Friday* Morning next, July 13th, he dy’d about Eight
 ‘ a Clock, just after the Lord *Russel* was carry’d out of the *Tower* to be
 ‘ try’d by means of the Lord *Howard* of *Efrick*, whom the Earl of *Essex*,
 ‘ against Lord *Russel*’s Mind, had brought into their Acquaintance. —
 ‘ I assure you the most solemnly that can be, that what I say is true accord-
 ‘ ing to the best of my Judgment.

To all which may be added, by Way of Circumstance, what the War-
 der declared to another sure Hand, That when the Lord *Russel* was go-
 ing to his Tryal, the Earl look’d out of his Window and wish’d his
 Lordship good Success; at which Time the Warder saw the very Razor
 in the Earl’s own Hand, seeming to use it as a Pen-Knife for his Nails.
 More Circumstances might be produc’d, which were before hinted at,
 but enough of this Subject.

Page 691, L. 48, after the Word *Hours*, add as following] The Petition
 for his being Beheaded was readily granted; but, as we are told, with
 a Sarcastical Glance at the Lord *Stafford*’s Case; the King saying, *My*
Lord Russel shall see That I have Power of Changing his Sentence.

Page 694, dele all from the 30th Line, and insert as follows.] Dr. *Sprat*
 charg’d it with being full of *Enormous Falshoods*; tho’ afterwards he was
 better satisfy’d. Others said, ‘ He confess’d enough to shew his *Crime*,
 ‘ but not his *Repentance*; and condemn him for in effect acknowledg-
 ‘ ing the *Misprison* without testifying the least Sorrow for that Crime.’
 The most that was said for his Lordship’s Integrity was, That so far as
 he was concern’d, which was still less than the rest, he acted according
 to *Principle*, and did really believe, at one Time at least, ‘ That it was
 ‘ lawful for Subjects to procure by Force from their Princes, some Things
 ‘ they judg’d necessary for the Preservation of their *Civil*, or *Religious*
 ‘ Rights; provided they did not alter the Government, and in the do-
 ‘ ing thereof their Parts were sincere and well meant.’ However it
 was, it cannot be deny’d but that he had hard Usage, both at and after
 his Tryal; and that he did not die so much for his late Actions, as for
 those of his Family, and his former Eagerness for the Exclusion Bill, &c.
 which rais’d him to such a Degree of Popularity, as made him look’d
 upon as a dangerous Man. But the more we find the Hardships from
 Men, the more we shou’d reflect upon the Proceedings of Heaven, which
 pursues Blood in the most remote and minute Cases. For whatsoever
 may be said in Favour of his Virtues, of his Standing up, and even dying
 for the Liberties of his Country, we cannot totally clear him from seek-
 ing after the Blood of others, especially the Lord *Stafford*, against whom
 his Zeal transported him so far, as not only to support the poorest Evi-
 dences, but to joyn with *Bethel*, *Cornish*, &c. who question’d the King’s
 Power in ordering that Lord to be only Beheaded: An Indication of
 a Zeal that, in a good Man, may easily get the better of *Knowledge*;
 and what, in a just Man, may soon over-run the bare Intention of doing
Justice to the Publick.

A further
 Narrative con-
 cerning that
 Lord.

Since the First Edition of this Volume I obtain’d a Narrative from a
 great Man, taken from Archbishop *Tillotson*’s own Mouth, which I
 thought best to be plac’d by it self. It informs us, That about two
 Days before the Lord *Russel*’s Death, Dr. *Tillotson*, then Dean of *Can-*
terbury, going to attend upon that unfortunate Lord, was suddenly stop’d
 by Dr. *Burnet* in the Street, who told him, ‘ They had now some good
 ‘ Hope of saving his Lordship’s Life: The main Impediment of which
 ‘ being

‘ being his avow’d Principle, *That Resistance was in some Cases lawful,*
 ‘ he had convinc’d that Lord of his Mistake, and that he was ready to
 ‘ own his Error in it. Therefore he desired Dr. Tillotson to go immediately
 ‘ to the Lord *Hallifax* and acquaint him with it; who wou’d thereupon
 ‘ go again to the King, and use his utmost Endeavours to obtain his Par-
 ‘ don.’ This being press’d with some Warmth and Vehemence, Dr. Til-
 lotson went accordingly, and deliver’d his Message to the Lord *Hallifax*.
 But calling upon the Lord *Russel* in *Newgate* upon his Return, he was
 very much surpriz’d and troubled to find that his Lordship was under
 no such Conviction as Dr. *Burnet* had hastily believ’d, and reported him
 to be.

Dean *Tillotson* vex’d and uneasy at what he had done, and willing to
 clear himself of it after the best Manner, resolv’d the next Day to try
 what he cou’d do to bring his Lordship to some Change in his Opinion.
 But it being the last Day before his appointed Execution, and not know-
 ing whether he shou’d be able to see him alone, he wrote the Letter,
 which was soon after publish’d in Print; and took it in his Pocket; resolving
 if he cou’d not discourse with him, to desire him to read and consider
 the Letter he shou’d give to him.

He found his Lordship alone, told him what he had done, and gave the
 Letter to him, who read it with great Deliberation; and acknowledg’d
 to him, *That he had therein offer’d more to convince him, than he had e-
 ver met with before: That he was now satisfy’d nothing but a Case of a
 very Extraordinary Nature cou’d justify Subjects in taking up Arms a-
 gainst their Prince: That he was fully of Opinion no such Cause had been
 given by the King, to justify any such Attempt against him. But still he
 thought such Circumstances there might be, in which it wou’d be lawful for
 them to resist.* Being ask’d by the Dean *What those Cases were;* he an-
 swer’d, *He had not consider’d the Matter so far and fully; and he had
 other Things more proper to be thought on at that Time.*

On that same Evening Dean *Tillotson* waited again upon the Lord *Hal-
 lifax*, to account to him what Mistake he had been led into, and what he
 had done upon it: And the better to justify himself, show’d him the very
 Letter he had written to the Lord *Russel*. While that Lord was reading
 it, Sir *Thomas Clargis* came in; and after a little Time the Dean took leave,
 my Lord *Hallifax* putting the Letter into his Pocket, and promising to
 be answerable for it. But in the mean Time Sir *Thomas* not only found
 Opportunity to read it, but to take a Copy of it; and from that Copy
 (and I think by his Means) it was very soon after Printed.

On the Evening of the next Day, when the Lord *Russel* was executed,
 Dean *Tillotson* was sent for to the Cabinet Council, and carefully examin’d
 touching that Lord’s Behaviour before and at his Death. The King par-
 ticularly commended the Dean’s Letter, and wonder’d *What cou’d be
 said to it.* He told his Majesty the Lord’s Opinion, *That such Circum-
 stances there might be, in which it wou’d be lawful to resist;* and further
 intimated, as tho’ it was his own, *That it was not impossible to find out a
 Case of Exception, tho’ he wou’d not presently pretend to specify it.* The
 Duke of *Tork*, who was willing to believe there were none, with some
 Warmth urg’d him to Name the Case. And not being satisfy’d, the King
 more mildly said, *Brother, the Dean speaks like an honest Man, press him
 no further.* After which he inform’d his Majesty, That the Lord *Russel*
 had declared to him, *That he was persuaded the King had never done any
 Thing to justify any One in rebelling against him: That he had never any
 such Thought Himself, and kept Company with those unhappy Men, only
 to preserve the Duke of Monmouth from being led into any rash Under-
 takings by them, and more particularly the Earl of Shaftsbury.* Being
 then

then ask'd, *Why the Lord Ruffel did not discover their Designs to the King?* His Answer was, That that Lord had said, *He cou'd not betray his Friends, nor turn Informer against them, while he saw there was no Danger; But if Things had come to a Crisis, he wou'd have contriv'd some Notice to have been given the King of it; and in Case of Violence wou'd himself have been ready to oppose them with his Sword in his Hand.* The King Himself confirm'd the Truth of the greatest Part of this Account, and in Conclusion said, JAMES (meaning the Duke of Monmouth) *has told me the same Thing.*

Page 696, at the End of the first Paragraph, add these Words]; for the Former of which the then Bishop of London's Memory is ever to be celebrated; and for the Latter (so far as it relates to the Eldest) that of the Earl of Danby and Sir William Temple is never to be forgotten.

Page 721, at the End of the second Paragraph, add] Only we must not forget what is mention'd in the Additions to the *Complete History of England*, from the *Lambeth Manuscript*, namely, One of his last good Acts was the Attempting what King William and Queen Mary perform'd in Founding an Hospital for maimed Soldiers at *Chelsea*. In Order to it, his Majesty sent Letters to the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 'Ob-
'serving with great Grief, That many of his Loyal Subjects, who for-
'merly took up Arms for Him and his Royal Father, to resist that Tor-
'rent of Rebellion which at last overturn'd the Monarchy and the Church,
'were by Old Age or Wounds or other Accidents reduc'd to extream
'Poverty.—And therefore declaring his Royal Resolution to found and
'erect at *Chelsea* a perpetual Hospital, in which more than four Hundred
'aged and otherwise disabled Soldiers may be lodg'd and supply'd with
'the necessary Supports of Life.—And hereupon requiring the Arch-
'bishop to send forth his Circular Letters to all the Bishops of his Pro-
'vince, earnestly exciting them to deal effectually with all in their
'Dioceses to contribute liberally to so good a Design, so manifestly to the
'Glory of Almighty God, and the Service of their King and Country,
'&c.

*And Design
for an Hospital.*

III. *As the Reign of King James the Second was less difficult for me to compose, so I had the less Concern and Trouble either in re-examining, or making Additions to it. And excepting some Things relating to the Grand Revolution, I had much fewer Historical Difficulties to surmount, and fewer Vulgar Errors to detect, than in any Part of the preceding Reign of the same Compass of Time. The publick Proceedings being more visible and apparent, I had not so much Danger from one Party, at least, as I had in the seven last Years of King Charles's Reign. However I found some few Passages that wanted to be rectify'd, and some other Matters proper to be inserted by Way of Addition. Of the former sort, in*

Page 734, L. last but two, instead of the honourable Henry Sidney, &c. read] the old Earl of Burlington.

Page 742, L. 30, at the End of it, add] and spit on his Face.

Page

Page 749, L. 17, after the Word Mercy, add] as the Court of England alledg'd.

Page 779, L. 14, At the Beginning, add as follows] Before he went out, he was extremely urgent with the eminent Dr. Benjamin Calamy, who had attended him to the last, to go with him to the Place of Execution; but that good Man had such compassionate Tenderneſs in his Nature, that he excus'd himself, ſaying, *He cou'd as ſoon dye with him, as bear the Sight of his Death.*

Page 798, L. 4, dele the Word Papiſt; for I have receiv'd full ſatisfaction that he was not of that Religion.

Page 807, at the End of the laſt Line add as follows.] This he acknowledg'd in a printed Letter to his Antagoniſt Sir Roger Leſtrange, and more eſpecially declared the villanous Practices upon him in Newgate, which made him yield 'Baſely to forſwear himſelf againſt thoſe Innocent 'Perſons, Green, Berry, and Hill; that dy'd upon his Wicked Evidence.' I ſhall diſmiſs this unhappy Man with a ſhort Story told me by the late Archbiſhop of York, who when Miniſter of St. Giles, Weſtminſter, happen'd to adminiſter the Sacrament to Mr. Baxter, Leſtrange and this Prance at the ſame Time, the two latter at the oppoſite Part, and the Other at the Middle of the Rails. Here Leſtrange, who receiv'd the laſt of the Three, having the Bread in his Hand, ask'd the Doctor aloud, *Whether he knew that Man on the other Side of the Rails?* Upon anſwering No, he ſaid thus, *That is Miles Prance, and I here challenge him, and ſolemnly declare before God and this Congregation, That whatever that Man has ſworn or publiſh'd concerning Me, is totally and abſolutely falſe; and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if all this Declaration be not true.* Prance was ſilent, Mr. Baxter took ſpecial Notice of it, and the Doctor himſelf declar'd, *He wou'd have refus'd him the Sacrament, had the Challenge been made in Time.*

Page 811, at the End of Line 13th, add as follows.] Beſides theſe Prelates, we are to remember an eminent Divine, Dr. Benjamin Calamy, Son Dr. Calamy. to the celebrated Edmund the Presbyterian Divine, a great and good Man, educated firſt in St. Paul's School, London, and then in Catharine-Hall in Cambridge, where he was a Fellow and an Ornament to the College. After which he remov'd and became Miniſter of St. Laurence-Jewry in London, where he gain'd the intire Love of the Pariſh, and Eſteem of the City by being a faithful and vigilant Paſtor, as well as an uſeful and excellent Preacher, and alſo an immoveable Supporter of the eſtabliſh'd Church of England. His Sermons ſeem'd to have been compos'd for the Generality of Mankind, in which there is both Strength and Perſpicuity, and they diſcover a Genius able to penetrate into the ſecret Recesses of Human Nature; for which he was particularly obſerv'd by King Charles's Court when he preach'd at Newmarket. Wherefore it is pity that we have no more of them in Print.

Page 845, in the 8th Line of the 2d Paragraph, at the Period, add] As to the Princeſs, he had us'd all private Methods by Letters and Meſſages to bring her over to the Catholick Faith, as he term'd it, all which ſhe ſtrenuouſly anſwer'd, and nobly reſiſted. But in the Point of the Teſt and Penal Laws, which might be thought to be more Political; becauſe, &c.

Page 860, L. 15, after the Word Hand, add] as I have been since inform'd, by Dr. Sherlock himself.

Page 864, L. 18, after the Word most, add] eligible and important Truths; much more when they deliver such Things that are ungrateful and suspicious.

Page 876, dele 11th, 12th, and part of 13th Line, and insert as follows] The Bishop of Durham was thought so blameable in that Point, that it gave an Occasion to a Report, That upon that Account he suspended thirty Ministers of his Diocese, and amongst them, one of his own Chaplains; but this has since appear'd to be altogether false. And in &c.

The Revolution is so stupendous as to its Nature, as well as Consequences, that the more any Person views and examines it, the more it will raise his Admiration and Applause, the One for the Regular Formation, and the Other for the inestimable Deliverance. Besides the Workings of Natural Causes, the Variety and Unexpectancy of so many Accidents both Abroad and at Home, discovers the Hand of Providence, and gives it a Superiority over, tho' a happy Concurrence with, the Powers of this World. The Nicety of the Time was a singular Happiness that attended it, and a special Blessing to a Nation, which, considering its curious Frame and impending Difficulties, cou'd neither admit of Precipitation nor Procrastination: The Constitution cou'd not bear the Former, nor the Distemper the Latter. And indeed all Things were brought to such an exact Maturity, that the Fruit cou'd never have been safely gather'd, and fully enjoy'd, at any other Season. Some indeed, with Monmouth, violently pluck'd at it when it was so very unripe and inseperable, that it more endanger'd the Tree than the Fruit: But now, by the Goodness of Heaven, and the Wisdom of Leading Men, both were preserv'd with as much Felicity, and as little Convulsion, as cou'd ever have been imagin'd upon such a wonderful Occasion.

This complicated Machine having been so visible and effectual in the Western World, I have often wish'd and hop'd that some great Genius wou'd, before this Time, have undertaken to give an Account of all its particular Parts and Springs, and have trac'd out and laid open all those Steps and Progresses, as cou'd have been learnt from natural Causes and Agents. But such a Work not appearing yet, I was forc'd to rest contented with what Materials I cou'd procure, and to be easy under this small Satisfaction of believing, That my Account of it, which begins at Page 877, and ends with the whole Volume, is more complete and regular than that of any single Person that had writ upon the same Subject before me.

Among

Among the Secrets of this Revolution none has been more curiously enquired into than the Names of the Persons who invited the Prince of Orange to undertake so great an Enterprize. We are told of two Sorts of Invitations, or rather Solicitations; the one Formal, and under a particular Instrument to give the greater Sanction to it; and the Other by Way of private Letters, or Personal Application. As to the Former, Monsieur Odyck declared to a Person of Quality, That while the Prince and his Forces were on Ship-Board, he himself had the Keeping of the Instrument in a large Leaden Box, with particular Orders to throw it into the Sea, if they met with any Difficulty or Opposition from King James's Fleet. But the other Way seems to me to have been more generally practis'd: And tho' I have not been able to discover all, yet in Page 879 I have ventur'd to name some that were concern'd, of whom there scarcely remains any Doubt. But these are all of the Laity. Of the Clergy, we have had more Uncertainty, especially as to the Bishops themselves, tho' particularly mention'd in the Prince's Declaration. This Latter, as it has been often doubted, and sometimes deny'd, so it has been made a Matter of Controversy and Quarrel in several Books and Pamphlets, whether the Prince was really solicited by any of the Lords Spiritual or not. But not to enter into the Merit of the Fact, which has been both reproachfully and honourably represented, for the clearing of the Matter, I here give an Extract of some Letters and Papers sent to me by the present Bishop of Winchester, the only surviving Prelate of the Seven Sufferers, who has been so generous as both to allow me to use his Name, and publish what I think fit of them.

*The First Letter was writ by Him to Bishop Lloyd, late of Worcester, dated Jan. 25, 1716, and begins thus: ' I don't doubt
' but your Lordship will be surpriz'd at a Letter from me, and
' more when you see the Reason of it is to free, at least, ourselves
' and Brethren and Fellow-Prisoners in the Tower from a heavy
' Charge laid against us, in direct Terms, in many printed Pam-
' phlets, and insinuated even by One of our own Bench, viz. That
' the Descent King William, then Prince of Orange, made with
' his Army was at our Desire and Invitation. For my part I ne-
' ver put my Hand to any Letter joyn'd in, or knew of any Mes-
' sage to his Royal Highness, before or after our Commitment, to
' invite him hither, and I have answer'd, That your Lordship did
' not: And that we had no other View by our Petitioning, than to
' show our King, in the humblest Manner possible, We cou'd not di-
' stribute and cause to be publish'd in our Churches his Majesty's
' Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, which struck at the Act
' of Uniformity, and was founded on such a Dispensing Power,*
' as

‘ as being yielded to would quickly set aside all Laws Ecclesiastical
 ‘ and Civil, and leave our Church of England no other Establish-
 ‘ ment than the Will and Pleasure of a Prince who by his Own
 ‘ was necessitated to extirpate it under all the Terrors and Belief
 ‘ of Damnation, and by several Steps he had made seem’d to be
 ‘ in haste to do it, and pleas’d with the Hopes he shou’d.’ In a
 ‘ second Letter shortly after, he tells my Lord of Worcester, ‘ What
 ‘ I desire of your Lordship is, that for the Honour of our Church,
 ‘ and our own particular Reputation, you will draw up a Paper
 ‘ (no Body can do it better) and both of Us to subscribe it, That in
 ‘ our Distress we did not on any Views, Hopes or Designs whatsoe-
 ‘ ver invite the Prince of Orange by Letter or Message to make
 ‘ the Attempt he did with a Fleet and Army on England; though
 ‘ we thought our selves oblig’d to accept the Deliverance he brought
 ‘ us, and must always gratefully acknowledge, That we owe the
 ‘ seasonable Rescue of this Nation from Popery to the Success of
 ‘ his Arms, as we do our present Security to his Foresight and the
 ‘ Prudence of his Counsels by the Act of Settlement.

The Bishop of Worcester, declining in his Eyes, tho’ healthful and
 vigorous beyond his Age, return’d Answer by his Son the Chancellor,
 wherein he assures his Lordship, ‘ That he doth not know that any
 ‘ of the Bishops who were Prisoners with his Lordship and Him
 ‘ in the Tower were any way concern’d in Inviting the Prince of
 ‘ Orange to make a Descent upon this Kingdom. He declares that
 ‘ he Himself had not, directly or indirectly, any Part in the said
 ‘ Invitation, nor any Knowledge whatsoever of his Royal High-
 ‘ ness’s Design, or of the Steps that were taken to make it suc-
 ‘ ceed; but what he was told as Common News, or read in the
 ‘ English or Foreign Prints. He saith indeed he must acknowledge,
 ‘ That he cou’d not but rejoyce at what he heard or read of that
 ‘ Kind, and heartily bless God for the Deliverance he seem’d to be
 ‘ raising up for this Church and Nation. And he saith, That he
 ‘ never since reflected upon what God Himself so visibly wrought for
 ‘ us without the utmost Thankfulness to his Holy Name, and the
 ‘ most grateful Remembrance of that glorious Prince, who was not
 ‘ only the Blessed Instrument of that Deliverance, but also the Foun-
 ‘ der, under God, of the Happiness which we now enjoy, and which
 ‘ we have great Reason to hope will be continu’d down to our Poste-
 ‘ rity for many Generations.

On the 24th of February 17¹⁸/₁₉ my Lord of Winchester was pleas’d
 to write thus to Me: ‘ You having in one of the News-Papers ac-
 ‘ knowledg’d a Mistake in relation to the Hampden Family; I am
 ‘ sure by your — History of England you have that true
 ‘ Concern for the Honour of our Church, that you will not refuse to
 ‘ do

' do Justice to the Bishops (at least to Me, and the rest of Us who
 ' were sent to the Tower) several of whom you have represented
 ' to have writ Invitations to his Highness the Prince of Orange
 ' to succour them in this Emergency. To convince you that you
 ' have been mis-led as to the seven Bishops, I send you a Copy of
 ' my Letters to the late Bishop of Worcester, and his Lordship's
 ' Answer by his Son the Chancellor of Worcester, &c.' In a
 Second Letter to Me about two Months after, his Lordship says,
 ' I am confident no Bishop did invite the Prince of Orange; and
 ' I have an Authority for my Opinion, which I send you enclos'd;
 ' a Memorandum of what I set down in Paper from the Honou-
 ' rable Mr. Francis Robarts, Son of the late, and Uncle to the
 ' present Earl of Radnor, a Gentleman very well known and esteem'd
 ' for his Probity and Veracity, &c.

The Memorandum relates to the chief Person concern'd in draw-
 ing up the Prince of Orange's Declaration, namely Commissary
 William Harbord, who came over with his Highness, and was af-
 terwards Knighted by him, and dy'd his Ambassador at Constan-
 tinople. It runs in these Words. ' Having in a Discourse with
 ' Mr. Francis Robarts, a very little Time after King William's
 ' Coronation, resented to him the Injustice and Mistake of the Per-
 ' son, whoever he was, that insinuated in the Prince of Orange's
 ' Declaration as if the Bishops had invited him to come over, which
 ' I verily believ'd was utterly false, he reply'd, I took an Occasion
 ' to discourse Will. Harbord about that Particular, and ask'd
 ' him Whether it was true? His Answer to me was with a Curse No:
 ' they were not so honest. But I caus'd it to be put in to raise a
 ' Jealousy and Hatred on both Sides; that King James believing
 ' it, might never forgive them; and they fearing he did believe
 ' it, might be provok'd for their own Safety to wish and help on his
 ' Ruin.

Besides this, I am lately inform'd by another sure Hand, That
 Mr. Harbord has more than once own'd to the same Effect, and
 particularly that there were none of the Lords Spiritual who ap-
 pear'd among the Inviters. The Bishop of London indeed may
 really be look'd upon as an Exception, and his Case peculiar; for
 his constant Correspondence with the Court at the Hague, and his
 particular Intimacy with her Royal Highness, might well amount
 to more than a bare Invitation. Upon the whole, the Reader is
 desir'd in

Page 879, to expunge the 28th, 29th, and 30th Line, and to add as fol-
 lows.] Many of the Temporal Lords, and most considerable Gentlemen
 in the Kingdom, seriously reflecting upon the imminent Dangers that at
 once threaten'd the whole Constitution both in Church and State, writ

Invitations to his Highness the Prince of Orange, to succour them in this Emergency; and a secret, &c.

Page 888, L. 4th from the Bottom, after the Word Ruin, add] One great Man, as I have been well inform'd, undertook to support his Spirits by shewing him 'that the Danger was not great, and that the Prince of Orange might be diverted from the Design, or defeated in the Attempt.' But he made Answer, in the Presence of the Informer, *I know my Son-in-law's Character so well, that if he undertakes any Design, he will go through with it; he will never be diverted, and very hardly defeated.*

In this Extremity, &c.

Page 902, L. 25, after the Word Hereticks, add] A French Author says upon this Occasion, 'I was present when King James receiv'd the News: At Dinner he us'd but one of his Hands, holding the most welcome Letter in the other. Among other Things he said to M. Barrillon the French Ambassador, laughing, *At last then the Wind has declar'd it self a Papist; then resuming his serious Air, and softning his Voice, he said, You know for these three Days I have caus'd the Holy Sacrament to go in Procession.*

*A further
Account of the
King's applying
to the Bishops.*

Page 904, after the Second Line, add these new Paragraphs] Besides this from Bishop Sprat, we have since then another Account, somewhat different and more particular, from a remarkable *Apology* drawn up by the Direction of the then Archbishop and his non-complying Brethren. What is purely *Narrative* in it is inserted as follows. One Day near the End of *October*, the King sent for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and after some other Discourses, told him, *It was now certain that the Prince of Orange was coming to invade England to make a Conquest of it; and it would be much to his Service, and a Thing well becoming the Bishops, if they would meet together, and draw up an Abhorrence of this Attempt of the Prince.* The Archbishop answer'd, *That after the Bishops had waited upon his Majesty the last Time together, had presented their Humble Advice, and finish'd to his Satisfaction the Prayers against the Invasion, they supposing his Majesty had no farther Commands for them, had desired and obtained his Permission to go down to do their own Duties, and his Majesty the best Service they cou'd, in their respective Dioceses, whether they were gone; so that no considerable Number of them cou'd at present be got together.* The King told the Archbishop, *That my Lord of London was within Call at Fulham, and that the Bishop of Peterborough was still about the Town; but made no mention of the Bishops of Durham, Chester, and St. David's, tho' he knew all Three were at hand, and at Court frequently.*

On the 1st of *November*, the Bishop of *London*, being sent for, attended his Majesty, who gave him to understand, That when he was sent for, he had nothing to shew him but the *Resolution of the States of Holland*, but now the Prince of *Orange's Declaration* being just come to his Hand, he shew'd his Lordship that Passage concerning the *Invitation of several of the Lords Spiritual.* To which the Bishop made answer in these Words, *Sir, I am confident the rest of the Bishops will as readily answer in the Negative as my Self.* Upon which Answer, tho' thought to have a double Meaning in it, the King was pleas'd to say, *He did believe them all Innocent.* On the next Day, the Archbishop having receiv'd a Summons to attend, with the rest of the Bishops went to *White-Hall*, and happen'd to find, in the King's Bed-Chamber, the Bishops of *London, Chester, Durham and St. David's; and they all being call'd into the Closet*

set to the King, his Majesty pointed to the Passage in the Prince's *Declaration*, concerning *Inviting him over*, and order'd the Lord *Preston*, Secretary of State, to read it, without any other Part of the *Declaration*. The Archbishop thanking the King for his good Thoughts of them, so frankly and graciously express'd, declared to him, *That he ow'd his Majesty a Natural Allegiance, having been born in his Kingdom; That he had often confirm'd this by taking voluntarily the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy; and wou'd have at once but one King; and to Him he did it as oft as he was pleas'd to receive it; and as to this particular Charge, and his Personal Concern in it, he averr'd himself perfectly Innocent.* And further, *That he did not know, nor cou'd imagine, that any of his Brethren the Bishops had given any such Invitation.* The Bishop of *London* acquitted himself at this Time only thus in general, *That he had given the King his Answer the Day before.* The rest of the Bishops did each of them aver his Innocence. The King repeating more than once his former Expressions, *how free he thought them from any such Practice*, did nevertheless require them, *That some Denial of the Invitation shou'd be publish'd*, saying, *It wou'd be for his Service, and some Dislike*, as his Word was, *of the Prince's Designs*; and so they were dismiss'd for that Time.

On the 5th of *November*, the Day before the Time prefix'd, the Bishops of *London*, *Rochester*, and *Peterborough* waited on the Archbishop at *Lambeth*, according to Appointment, to advise and resolve what was fit to be done in both these important Demands, to clear themselves publicly from *having invited the Invasion*, and to *Declare against it*. But at this Meeting it was no Wonder, if nothing cou'd be concerted for the King's Service; for those few Bishops, by this Time, found Cause enough to be much upon the Reserve to one another. The Bishop of *Rochester*, he saw the Popular Torrent running high against all the Measures taken at Court, but mainly raging against the Motion of the *Abhorrence*: He apprehended himself to stand in need of *Apologies* for some Things past; and no wonder then he stood off from a new perilous Undertaking. The Bishop of *London*, as he had twice avoided the Question with the King, so it was not to be thought he wou'd concur in answering his Majesty's Proposal to his Satisfaction: And it is so well known at this Time of Day, how long before, how deeply his Lordship was engag'd in the great Intrigue of the *Revolution*; no Man can doubt but his Lordship was wholly averse from drawing up such a *Denial* of holding Intelligence with the Prince, and from sending abroad such an *Abhorrence* of the Invasion with his own Subscription.

Thus unequally yolk'd together, the next Day these four Prelates attended his Majesty again upon this great Business. Here first the Bishops of *Rochester* and *Peterborough* did, as the Archbishop had done before, absolutely and expressly deny and disown their *having done any Thing towards the Invitation* imputed to some Lords *Spiritual and Temporal*. But the Archbishop, desirous to have some more of his Brethren, such as he cou'd confide in, and as cou'd go along with him upon right Measures, &c. did not only intreat his Majesty, *That the small Number there present might not be separated from the rest, and put upon so particular a Vindication*; but likewise made it his humble Request, *That there being so few of those Bishops about the Town, whom he cou'd advise with, That in so weighty a Business the King wou'd be pleas'd to command up the rest of the Order, or as many of them as he shou'd think fit to Summon up, that were not at too great a Distance.* When in answer to this Motion, the King told him, *That it must be a Work of Time to bring up any considerable Number of Bishops; that the Matter wou'd bear no Delay; and that if any Thing were done, it must be presently*; the Bishop of

of Peterborough reply'd, *That they had already made their Personal Vindication in his Majesty's Presence; that his Majesty had condescended to say, he believ'd and was fully satisfy'd in it: That all the Court saw them going in and out of the Closet; and all the Town wou'd know the Effect of what had been done, and they wou'd own it everywhere.* He added, *That it was now in his Majesty's own Power to publish what they had done and said; desiring, That if his Majesty thought it for his Interest, he wou'd expressly mention their four Names in his Declaration, which they heard was then going to the Press; and let it be known to the World, That they had deny'd to have any Part in the Invitation.* The King alledging, *That somewhat of their own wou'd be more effectual than any Act of his to create Faith in the People;* the same Prelate argu'd, *That as they cou'd not presume any Act of theirs was needful to strengthen his Majesty; so it was Security enough, That they must and wou'd own what his Majesty might set forth in their behalf; when not to own it, wou'd expose them to the Suspicion of High-Treason; and to disown it, wou'd prove them certainly Guilty.*

The Archbishop repeated the Offer of the same Expedient, the Publishing in the *Royal Declaration* how they had protested their Innocence. The Bishops of *London* and *Rochester* seem'd to assent; at least neither of them express'd any Dissent to it. But the King reinforcing the Argument urg'd, *That such false Reports had been rais'd, so spitefully and scandalous, yet spread over the Nation so industriously, to corrupt the Minds of his Subjects with odious Surmizes against him; that such a Matter of Fact, as their Denying to have invited the Prince, if it were set forth by the King alone, and not by the Bishops being Parties on whom the Charge was laid in the Prince's Declaration (whatever he said in their behalf without them) wou'd at that Time fail of the Credit, which it ought to find with the People.* The King therefore still insisting That somewhat might be set out under their own Hands, they besought his Majesty 'That they might not be divided from the Temporal Lords, 'who were equally concern'd in the Imputation, as if they maintain'd 'criminal Correspondence abroad; therefore they pray'd That they 'might be call'd together, and joyn'd with them in their consulting about 'this Protestation.' This also being thought by the King too dilatory a Method, the Archbishop advanc'd this as their last and humble Request, 'That at least he wou'd appoint some Number of Temporal Lords, whom 'he pleas'd to make choice of, to consult with them upon the 'whole Matter; assuring his Majesty, 'They wou'd act as shou'd be 'determin'd at such a Consultation, to be most becoming the Duty of 'good Subjects, and most for the Service of his Majesty.' The Bishop of *London* durst not oppose this Motion; but seemingly clos'd with it; tho' it soon appear'd he did so, meerly to get out of the Way of such Meetings, &c. Thus far the Narrative Part of the above-mention'd Apologist, who at the End of this Account says, 'This Business was never 'till now set in its true Light, tho' there has been a great Scuffle about 'it, but all in the dark.

Page 924, at the End of the 31st Line, add] and was suppos'd to have been done by *Ferguson* or *Mr. Johnson*; but of late *Mr. Hugh Speke* has assum'd the Honour of it to himself: A Thing which we know not how to believe, or wholly to contradict.

Page 933, L. 5th from the Bottom, after the Word *Army*, add] *Mr. Hugh Speke* has likewise taken upon himself the Honour of this Stratagem, and declares That he was the sole Contriver and Manager of it, to the
Ruin

Ruin of the Popish Party and their Emissaries; of all which he has given us a particular, tho' not the most satisfactory Account in his *Secret History of the Revolution*.

Page 941, *dele the two last Lines of the third Paragraph, from the Word Vacant, and insert*] and the Prince and Princess of Orange were left free to wear an Imperial Diadem they had long before deserv'd; a Diadem, however stain'd by malicious Aspersions, yet unspotted by any Degree of Parricide.

In the 959th Page I was led into a Mistake concerning Mr. Dolben's endeavouring to prove the Vacancy of the Throne, which he has since been generously pleas'd to rectify himself, in an Account of that Debate which he sent me from Ireland, of which Kingdom he is now worthily a Judge. Wherefore in

Page 959, from Line 39, and the Word York, *dele all the rest of that Page to the End of the first Paragraph in the 960th Page, and insert as follows.*] who made a long Speech to prove, 'That King James his Deserting the Kingdom, and his Not appointing any Person to administer the Government in his Absence, amounted in Reason and Judgment of Law to a *Demise* of that Prince:'. And he concluded with a Motion to the same Effect; which was seconded by Sir Richard Temple, and supported by Sir Robert Sawyer. After whom Sir Robert Howard entertain'd the Committee with a long Harangue; and he was the First that asserted the *Vacancy of the Throne*, and the *Breach of the Original Contract* by a continu'd Series of Illegal Acts (many of which he enlarg'd upon) throughout the whole Course of King James's Reign. His Allegations were maintain'd by Mr. Garraway, Sir Thomas Lee, Mr. Sacheverell, Mr. Pollexfen, Sir George Treby and Mr. Sommers. Several of them objected against Mr. Dolben's Motion of a *Demise*, 'as not taking in King James's Male-Administration, and because a *Demise* infers a *Descent* of the Crown to the next in Hereditary Succession; whereas in this Case the Throne was not *Descended*, but (as they insisted) *Vacant*.' Mr. Finch in an eloquent Speech, contradicted the Doctrine of the *Vacancy*: 'He extoll'd the Courage, Conduct and Magnanimity of the Prince of Orange, who was to be compared to those ancient Heroes that were contented with the Glory of *Freeing Nations*, and *Destroying Tyrants*, without any particular Design upon their Crowns.' He urg'd further, 'That the most advisable Course wou'd be, To come to such a Resolution as shou'd meet with a most General Concurrence; And that, in his Opinion, the Establishing a *Regency* during the Life of King James, wou'd give a much greater Satisfaction to the Kingdom, than the Declaring the *Throne to be Vacant*.' Sir Christopher Musgrave insisted, 'That to vote the *Throne is Vacant*, wou'd be actually to depose the King; and desired to know from the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, Whether that cou'd be Legally done.' And Sir Edward Seymour spoke with great Warmth to the same Effect.

Towards the Close of this Grand Debate, the Lord Fanshawe mov'd That it might be adjourn'd to another Day, 'in regard of its very great Importance, and of the Mischief that might be occasion'd by taking too hasty Steps in a Matter of so much Weight.' This not being seconded, the Committee, without dividing, came to the following complicated *Resolution*, which, when ratify'd by both Houses, was perhaps the

*Their Grand
Vote of the
Vacancy of
the Throne.*

most remarkable of all the *English* Records: ‘ *Resolved*, That King *James* the Second, having endeavour’d to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by Breaking the *Original Contract* between King and People; and by the Advice of Jesuits, and other wicked Persons, having violated the *Fundamental Laws*, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, hath *Abdicated* the Government, and that the Throne is thereby become *Vacant*.

This *Resolution* was the next Day Reported to the House, and being agreed to, it was sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence. And having thus got over their grand Point, they, &c.

Page 960, *dele the two last Lines of the third Paragraph, and in their Room insert*] who had entertain’d Notions of the Church and Monarchy of *England* very large and extensive, soon found themselves under Difficulties they had never felt before.

Page 977, Line 14, *after the Word Ages, add*] From which Principles, and the General Opinion of the Lords and Commons, That the Personal Right of King *James* was not Unalienable, it will follow, That there could be no Indefeasible Right in any of his Heirs, either Near or Remote. This main Step, &c.

Page 978, Line 21, *after Gravesend, add*] and so at *Greenwich*, where her Highness stopt a little in the River to receive her main Assistants, the Prince and Princess of *Denmark*, into the Yatch. From whence, taking Barge, they all pass’d up to *White-Hall*, &c.

Thus I have concluded rather than perfected, ended rather than finish’d the Three Volumes of my History of England, together with the Appendix to the whole Work. I heartily wish that both were more Complete; that the Former had not wanted the Latter, or that the Latter had better answer’d the Defects of the Former. If I had thought my self oblig’d to please all Parties, and to solve all Scruples, the Appendix must have been larger than the History, and still far from answering such a Design. But still I hope that there are many free and impartial Persons who will be so generous as to accept of This; and more, when they come to consider, That in both the One and the Other, and from the Time that I enter’d into the World (or rather into this Country) I have too much labour’d under the particular Hardship of Making Brick without Straw.

And here I take leave to hint at what I have formerly declared, That I have liv’d at too far a Distance from Libraries and Learned Men to undertake a Work of so great Importance, and was too unexperienc’d to adventure upon One so formidable in its Nature. This made me snatch at all Advantages and Opportunities from others, and put me upon unwearied Attempts in Obtaining any valuable Materials, any new Informations or enlightning Papers, tho’ never so small as to Size and Bulk. And I may add, That

I have been two or three Years in gaining a Quarter of a Sheet of that Kind; and sometimes longer in endeavouring and labouring for what I never cou'd obtain. I have also travell'd many Miles, and wrote Numbers of Letters to receive the Benefit of those Promises, or at least those Incouragements, which, upon calmer Thoughts, those that offer'd them had not the Courage to make good. In short, I have sometimes taken as much Pains to procure an Original Paper as many wou'd do to get the best Preferments in Church and State.

To expatiate upon these Topicks wou'd be too troublesome to the Reader, therefore I do not mention them to complain of my Wants, either of Books or living Assistants, or to discover those Labours that are so little visible to the World; but rather to beg and bespeak the Candor of the Good-Natur'd, and the reasonable Justice of the more Rigid, who 'tis hop'd will judge favourable of the Case of a Person who has taken Pains under no small Difficulties; One who has spent too many of the best of his Years in his Endeavours to oblige the Publick and Posterity, without any greater Human Views than procuring to himself a Quiet Retreat, and such a fit Settlement as may barely render his Charities subservient and assisting to his Instructions to those under his Charge.

The Thoughts of the last, with the Usefulness of the Subject to a Divine, have often made me believe my Time not so ill spent as otherwise I might, when I undertook to write History; a Subject where we discover so many noble Instances of the Divine Providence, which, tho' above the best Understandings, are generally visible enough to all that are willing to see, and ready to learn. These Instances are the most excellent Guides in the Conduct of Human Affairs, and indeed some of the most useful and valuable Parts of History. But as they usually will bear hard upon Parties, and oftner upon Families, they are apt to be unwillingly admitted, and to be frequently disputed, tho' pointed out by the most skilful Hands. This Consideration naturally directs and obliges me to take some little Notice of the most considerable Objection or Insinuation against my History; and so material in its Nature, that a very little Aggravation may make it appear of great Weight. It has been insinuated against me as if I had been too free with God's Providence, and had too particularly determin'd his Dispensations here below, with relation to his Rewards, or rather Punishments in this Life. This Charge is heavy enough; and so far as I am obnoxious, I ought to ask Pardon not only of Men, but of Heaven, whose Ways are above all Mortals Reach, and who does not only Command all Nature, but continually brings about those mighty Things by the Hands of Men, which they have been often unable, and oftner unwilling, to perform themselves.

But

But notwithstanding the inextricable Mazes of Providence, the surprizing Progresses, and adorable Proceedings of the Almighty Ruler, as well as Creator of the World; he has thought fit, by Way of Condescension and Accommodation to our Capacities, to give us many plain and visible Marks of his Pleasure and Displeasure, even as to this Mortal State. His Arm has been often laid open and made apparent in all Ages of the World; more so indeed in the Sacred Histories, but not obscurely so in the rest of the Historians of Eminency. And in reality if it was not clearly to be distinguish'd in many Cases, I know not how any Thanksgivings or Humiliations could be justly appointed by Publick Governours, or fairly practis'd by Private Men. It is true there may be a Danger in being too particular in determining these high Matters, and in making too near Applications, when a more favourable Interpretation would serve. I will not positively say that, in this Case, I have been altogether without Blame; I only say that I have been so unhappy as not to meet with such particular Conviction as every rational Man might expect from his Opponents.

What gave me an early Notion of the Usefulness of these Kind of Observations, was my Reading Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, together with his extraordinary Preface; which I undertook when I was very young, with great Pleasure and very particular Enjoyment. That was the Third History I read after the Bible and Josephus: And afterwards, when by an extraordinary high Encouragement I engag'd my self to write the Second Part of the Roman History, for the Use of the Duke of Gloucester, I was advis'd and urg'd by some who had the Care of that young Prince, to have a special Regard to Sir Walter Raleigh's Preface, and, as far as was consistent with the Subject, to frame my Observations and Reflections agreeably to that noble Work. This was represented to me as of the highest Importance to the Education of a Prince so likely to wear a Crown. The History fortunately happen'd to be more than usually fit for that Purpose; and accordingly I drew up my Dedication, which I take to be the most useful, and unexceptionable I ever writ.

In my Writings afterwards, particularly in my Ecclesiastical History, and the First Volume of the History of England, I have had frequent Occasions to think of that great Man, and to make Remarks agreeable to, tho' not amounting to the Height of, his Sentiments. And I believe it is hardly possible to read his Works, with a few other Historians of the First Rank, without seeing many Traces of the Divine Providence, and Instances of Punishments from above, brought about by evil as well as indifferent Hands below; and discovering the Retaliations of Heaven as well as the Recriminations of Men;
which

which tho' often blended and intermingled, are many Times legible and evident in both Cases. And it may deserve a particular Observation, That many Persons suffer in this World not so much for the Crimes of which they are judicially condemn'd, but for former, and perhaps greater Offences, of which the standing Laws cou'd not properly take Cognisance.

But for fear of exceeding my Limits, or too much indulging Human Passions, I have in my late Writings been more cautious and wary than some are willing to allow in my Favour; I am sure much more so than Sir Walter Raleigh, and some other great Men have been before me. And that I might proceed upon the greater Certainty, I have in effect confin'd my Observations only to the Cases of Blood; a Matter the clearest in View, and the highest in Consequence in this World; and in which Heaven at all Times and Places hath made the severest Inquisition, even in the most obscure, distant and remote Cases. What God has been pleas'd to declare from the Beginning, before, under, and after the Mosaick Law, and to manifest by his uniform tho' various Proceedings in all Ages, is an irrefragable Proof of this great Truth.

One of Sir Walter's chief Maxims was this; All Policy is dangerous where Blood is either the Cause or the Effect; a Maxim worthy to be remember'd by all States-Men, and their under-Agents. And as a sort of Explanation of this, when he is speaking of Edward and Richard the Second, he says, Those Kings who have Sold the Blood of others at a low Rate, have made the Market for their own Enemies to buy of theirs at the same Price. Describing such sort of Men, he adds, These were Lovers of other Mens Miseries, and Misery found them out. Such were His, and such have been many other great Mens Notions and Opinions: And what I have attempted, has been rather following them at a Distance, than any ways treading upon their Heels. I have indeed been so fearful and cautious, as only to take notice of the most obvious Cases: And tho' there are undoubtedly many Exceptions, yet I cannot see, that when we find Persons Sufferings to proceed from some extraordinary Retaliation, exceeding the Nature of the present Accusation, how it can be amiss to put the Reader in mind of something from Above; and in several Cases he can hardly escape making his own Observations the very same Way. If Sir Alexander Carew did use such Words, and pursue them, as are in Page 227 of the Second Volume, and we find them exactly verifi'd in Page 508, is the Writer to blame, or the Reader either, if he makes some transient Remarks upon so signal an Accident?

Not to mention the Fate of Cromwell under Henry the Eighth, or those more lately of the Hothams, the Hamiltons, Holland, &c. I

beg leave to suppose a single Instance. A private Man of great Parts and Abilities, by his Artifices and Oaths, prevail'd upon the House of Commons, the Lords and the King himself to joyn in a new Law to destroy a great Lord whom he heartily hated. After which, for several Years, he prov'd one of the most inveterate Enemies and Opposers to that King and his Son; doing them all the Mischief he cou'd, and making himself guilty of innumerable Acts of Treason, for which he was excepted out of the General Indemnity that follow'd the Restoration of the Son. Notwithstanding which, he soon after gain'd the Commons, and the Lords so much over to his Side, that they both joyn'd in a Petition for his Life, and actually obtain'd a Promise from the King. So that he had the Virtual, and I may say Essential Part of a Pardon, and as Good, one wou'd imagine, as a Broad Seal or an Act of Parliament cou'd give; and the more so, because Acts of Pardon are usually read but once in Parliament. But wanting the Formal, and, in strictness, the Legal Part, he after all suffer'd Death; not for his many Treasons and other high Crimes, but for the Blood of that Lord he had so solemnly caus'd to be shed, one of whose near Friends unexpectedly, but so effectually interpos'd as to cause both his Tryal and Execution when he least thought of it, and so to close up that Fountain which he had open'd above twenty Years before. I shall make no Observation here, but only fairly ask of the Reader, Whether he has not read of such a Story in the English History; and if so, Whether there is not more Piety and Charity in admiring and seriously reflecting upon such Cases as these, than in a total Neglect and Disregard of them?

These are Things in truth very uncomfortable and mortifying when they come near to a Man's Self, or his Family, or indeed to his Friends and Party: And if, in touching some Sores, I have been too rough or hard, or have open'd them not like a nice Surgeon, I am ready to stand corrected. But because I have been, as I think, unjustly suspected to have lean'd too much on One Side, I desire such to recollect and consider, Whether I have spared those of the Other. Have I, in these Cases, spared my own Master Sir Walter Raleigh? Have I spared King Charles the First, or the Duke of Buckingham? Or the Earl of Strafford, or the Marquis of Montrose? or even the Lord Capel Himself, whose Memory a good Man can hardly be too fond of? If I be free with suppos'd Friends, why shou'd I be thought so hard of with relation to suppos'd Enemies? for both indeed are only suppos'd, and both are alike to me, with respect to Friendship, Inclination, Interest, or any other Thing that may mislead a Man, and endanger his Honesty and Impartiality. That Writer who wilfully conceals the ill Qualities of good Men, and the good Qualities of bad Men, does not deserve the Name of an Historian.

To come a little nearer home: I declare that it was both my Interest and Inclination to say all the good Things I cou'd of the Lord Ruffel, and several Others: But I was sure it cou'd never be any Advantage to me to take the Part, or to complain of the Hardships done to the Lord Viscount Stafford. If I do think, with all his Probity and Signals of an honest Patriot, the Zeal of the former transported him a little too far in that Case, it is more my Misfortune than my Fault. And if I find that those very Persons that by their Oaths destroy'd the poor old Lord, did afterwards help to destroy the chief Supporters of their Credit, I cannot avoid taking some Notice of it. Nor cou'd I help remembering, that the very Witnesses, that were brought so many Miles, and paid so much Money purely to hang poor Plunket, were soon after plaid against their great Master and Patron; who, tho' he narrowly escap'd with Life, was driven with Dishonour into perpetual Exile. Tho' indeed there are many Exceptions in the World, where such Sort of Promoters escape, and are reserv'd for greater Punishments afterwards, yet Examples of what I have been hinting at are innumerable both in ancient and modern History; but I must not be too tedious and particular.

These, tho' only Sketches of themselves, are I hope sufficient to induce candid and good-natur'd Persons to think favourably of mine and greater Men's Sentiments: And if these will not take place, long and labour'd Arguments will not signify much more. I shall only add, as I formerly hinted, because it is a Matter of a great Concern, and to which all good Men ought to have a tender Regard, If I have in any Passage been too uncharitable with respect to Men, or too presumptuous with respect to God, I am ready to beg Pardon of both; but still I am not satisfy'd of my Guilt as to either. However in that Case I desire to fall into the Hands only of such Judges as are capable and qualified for a Thing of that high Nature; and then I hope I shall have fewer perhaps than have already undertaken that Employment. I further beg, that no Man wou'd charge me with what is not to be actually found in my History, or accuse me by Way of Inference and Aggravation: For that has been my Fate in many other Cases, besides this I have been treating of; and in reality I may venture to say, That most of my Accusations have either arose from other Mens Mistakes, or have been made by Hear-say and without Book.

As to other Complaints and Objections, I have but little to say, and less to apprehend; especially since I have taken all reasonable Care of them in this Appendix. I have done Justice to all where I cou'd find it was wanting, and have amended those few real Faults or Mistakes that have been fairly laid before me. And further

ther to oblige some Persons, whose Minds may be rather said to be weak than wilful, I have alter'd and mollify'd some Expressions which might possibly give Offence to well-meaning People.

And yet after all my Care and Willingness to oblige reasonable Men, I know not but that I may have rais'd a fresh Spirit of Indignation even in these new Additions; some of them being a Confirmation of what several are unwilling, or rather resolv'd not to believe. I find some Spirits of that resolute and perverse Disposition, that it may be question'd, Whether it is in the Power of Men or Angels to convince them. These are Persons so over-run with Prejudice, so involv'd, or rather immers'd in Party, that it is next to impossible that they shou'd always distinguish between Truth and Falshood. Men whose Eye-Sights are thus darken'd and contracted, can never see far before them. The Extremities of Parties are the Scandals and Excrescencies of Human Nature; and whoever are thoroughly embark'd in them are in as ill a Condition as Men in a Storm, where their Safety depends all upon Chance, strange Accidents, or Miracles. However, the Mischiefs are so prevalent and raging, that of the two great Evils that so usually attend common Authors, it is more eligible and less slavish to write for Bread, than for a Party. In the former Case I believe it is possible for a Writer to preserve his Honesty; in the Latter, I will say nothing.--- As to my own Particular, I find my self oblig'd to mention one little Instance with relation to Parties, in which a great many have been mistaken, namely, That I wrote the last Volume in the Queen's Reign, and had Views according to those latter Times; whereas the whole was projected, and every Single Line wrote in the Reign of his present Majesty, to whom the Three Volumes are heartily Dedicated. Such Instances as these will serve to shew the Weaknesses, as well as the Extravagancies of Parties. But it is Time to come to a Conclusion.

In sum, tho' I value Reputation and a good Name as much as any Mortal, yet I have so little Regard to Fame or Applause, but so much Love for the Publick, that I heartily desire that not only my History of England, but all my other Books, may have their Memory utterly extinguish'd by better and more useful wrot upon the same Subjects: And this has been my real Wish, and constant Opinion, from the Time I first appear'd in the World to this Day; namely, from Eighteen to Eight and Forty. And further, notwithstanding all seeming Complaints and Expostulations, I am still above all Fear, and be my Fate as it will, I shall no ways decline going forwards to the End of the next Reign. And having now less Prospects than ever, I shall the more readily undertake it. And still

still I am not without all Hopes of Assistance; therefore if any Persons will be so generous as to furnish me with any sort of Materials, as Memoirs, Letters, &c. that can be of the least Use, they shall have my hearty Thanks at present, and I do not doubt the Thanks of the Publick afterwards. But of this more publick Notice will be given in no long Time.

Louth in Lincolnshire;
Jan. 3^d, 17¹².

Lau. Echard.

A D D E N D A

SINCE my coming to Town, the present Duke of Argyle was generously pleas'd to give me the following Letter, or Declaration, written by the Hand of King Charles the Second, and Sign'd with the Seal Manual.

‘ Having taken into my Consideration the faithful Endeavours of the
 ‘ Marquiss of *Argyle* for restoring me to my just Rights; and the happy
 ‘ Settling of my Dominions, I am desirous to let the World see how sensible I am of his real Respect to Me by some particular Marks of my
 ‘ Favour to Him, by which they may see the Trust and Confidence, which I repose in Him: And particularly I do promise that I will make
 ‘ him Duke of *Argyle*, and Knight of the *Garter*, and one of the Gentlemen of my Bed-Chamber; and this to be performed when He shall think it fit: And I do farther promise him to hearken to his Counsels
 ‘ - - - - - [*worn out*] - - - - - whenever it shall please God
 ‘ to restore Me to my Just Rights in *England*, I shall see him paid the
 ‘ Forty Thousand Pounds Sterling, which is due to Him: All which I do
 ‘ promise to make good upon the Word of a King.

St. Johnstone
September 24, 1650.

Charles R.

F I N I S.

Charles J. Hall

A D D E M D A

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